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GERMANY: "A-POLITICAL" ALLY — page 15

New Republic

Know Your Candidates...

ESTES KEFAUVER

What's Behind the Handshake?

ADLAI STEVENSON

Will He Accept the Nomination?

DWIGHT EISENHOWER

Review of Three Books on Ike

"I Decline to Answer . . ."

The Dilemma of the "Unco-operative Witness"

by EUGENE GRESSMAN

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
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Johnson City, Tennessee

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Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● Walter Lippmann has produced a beguiling argument designed to show the imperative necessity of electing General Eisenhower as President. The noted columnist argued that as now constituted neither party is capable of governing. The Democratic Party, Lippmann said in a recent issue of *Look* magazine, has been in office too long with the consequence that "it has settled down with the faithful and second-raters." But the Republican Party has been out of office so long that its leaders have "become reckless and they begin to place their bets on crackpots."

Lippmann cited foreign policy to support his contention. "The Administration," he wrote, "is too weak to be wise and the leaders of the Republican opposition are too irresponsible to count the consequences." The only possible solution which will prevent a collapse of the government, Lippmann said, is to turn out the Democrats and vote in the Republicans. He admitted this may be difficult.

From this admission it was but a short step to the selection of Eisenhower as the Indispensable man. He is an internationalist, he is the one man "sure to win if nominated," and he is the one man who will unite the country. . . . But is this argument sound?

If we have read our American political history rightly, it is indeed true that a chronic past failure of political parties long in power has been their inability to continue to attract first-rate men. However, there is nothing endemic about this. One of the remarkable features of the Democratic Party since inception of the New Deal has been its ability to attract men of the highest caliber. There is impressive evidence to support this statement. Consider the avowed candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Sen. Estes Kefauver, Richard Russell, Robert Kerr and Mutual Security Administrator W. Averell Harriman. . . .

By contrast, there is conspicuous evidence that the Republican Party's attempt to attract new blood has been a dismal failure. That party had an opportunity in 1946 to prove that it had reconstituted itself as a conservative party of genuine distinction. . . . But the Republicans offered to the public and succeeded in getting voted into office the notorious Senate "class of 1946." Of its 13 members, nine are on the most extreme and isolationist fringe of the party—Harry P. Cain of Washington, John W. Bricker of Ohio, James P. Kem of Missouri, Edward Martin of Pennsylvania and Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, to name a few.

These men all would be completely enthusiastic supporters of Sen. Robert Taft if it were not for the fact they consider some of his ideas too left-wing. A glance at Taft's voting record shows what they apparently believe to be the basis of a foreign policy. In 1941 Taft voted against the draft bill, lend-lease, and the extension of the draft. Later he voted against the Bretton Woods agreements, the British Loan and this country joining the United Nations. . . .

It is reasonable to believe that if 1952 is a Republican year most of the "Class of 1946" and the regular Republican organization will be swept into office again. But it is impossible to believe that this group, headed by Taft, will support any realistic foreign program that Eisenhower might wish to carry out. . . . The split between Taft and Eisenhower over the $7.9 billion Mutual Security Bill revealed to the world a split in the Republican Party far deeper than that among the Democrats over Civil Rights. . . .

It means that in foreign affairs Eisenhower would sit in the White House not as President, but as the prisoner of the Regular Republican organization. To ask us to believe that under these circumstances the election of Eisenhower or any other Republican is the only salvation of the country is to tell us this republic has no salvation.

Baltimore, Md. ZACHARY SIMPSON

"Freedom (?) Clubs"

● As a *New Republic* subscriber, I was interested in the published correspondence from the Rev. James W. Fifield Jr. of Los Angeles to your magazine after you had published a short paragraph about his "Freedom (?) Clubs." The Reverend Fifield was, as I recall, requesting a correction of your published statement concerning some of his utterances. That there may be no confusion as to what his "Freedom Clubs" stand for, and whom they represent, I am enclosing some "Freedom Club" literature which has come into my hands.

I am personally appalled at the appeal which this type of hate campaign has for some people, and even more appalled that a so-called Christian church allies itself with the potentially most dangerous fascist forces in our midst today. I am always grateful when the *New Republic* contributes an article such as John Mallon's *Voyeurism in Politics: USA Confidential* (*NR*, April 28). The voices of decency and sanity are so nearly drowned out by the malign voices of McCarthy, Lait, Mortimer, Fifield, Kohlberg et al.

Seattle, Wash. MRS. SIGRUN MACDONALD

The "Catholic Problem"

● For the benefit of Mr. Wm. Fitzpatrick Jr., let me cite three recent instances of the "Catholic problem" which he denies exists (*NR*, April 14).

1. The campaign by a Catholic "front organization" among non-Catholic shopkeepers in the Bronx to display placards to the effect that "we will close for three hours on Good Friday in commemoration of the death of Jesus Christ." The local church official, while "regretting" the accompanying threats of boycott, affirmed that this was only an extension of a similar "very successful" campaign in Brooklyn. Apparently those involved have no conception of the outrageous insult to human sensibilities and common decency, which drew Catholic as well as non-Catholic protest.

2. When McGrath first was about to be fired some weeks ago, Robert S. Allen reported that Cardinal Spellman personally intervened with the President *by telephone from Tokyo!* What the Cardinal

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Political Blue Book

At Vermillion, seat of the University of South Dakota, authorities of the university broke up before Taft's arrival the student gathering which favored General Eisenhower. The apparent intention of the group was to hold its rally in the hall where Taft was to speak and the dean of men, R. H. Knapp, told the students that it was not a polite thing to do. – *From the Chicago* Tribune.

If At First . . .

The Rev. Wendell S. Tredick, pastor of the Warren Memorial Presbyterian Church in Kensington, began playing golf at the age of 14, 25 years ago. Yesterday at Glenbrook he scored his first hole-in-one.

. . . Unfortunately, church duties prevented Reverend Tredick from finishing out the round. But he's going to use the hole-in-one in a sermon which will be entitled, "Life Is Your Battle."—*From the Washington* Post.

One Sided?

". . . the secret of Margaret's [Truman] popularity; she seems to like people and they like her back. . . ." – *From the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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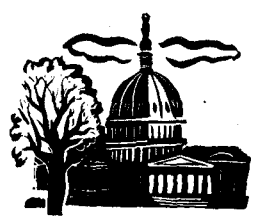
WASHINGTON WIRE

As FORECAST in this column, (*NR*, May 26), President Truman has now asked for an extra $4.2 billion for five-year atomic development. The announcement does not use the word "H-bomb," but the first such bomb will be exploded this summer. Truman may mention it when he dedicates the keel of the *Nautilus*, the first atomic submarine, at New London on June 14. Even in an election year it does not pay to forget the rush of atomic development. "Soon a few men in one airplane," the semi-official *Air Force* magazine wrote last week, "flying at sonic speeds and never seeing the ground, will be able to drop anywhere on the face of the earth a single bomb containing an explosive power far greater than the total dropped during World War II." How soon is "soon"?



Will the GOP nomination be worth having when the suicidal Ike-Taft fight is over? Its value has depreciated steadily. Both camps are employing frantic tactics. The neutral London *Economist* interpreted Ike's sudden support of the sectional grab for offshore oil as "a desperate, if rather transparent, device for helping his campaign managers to round up votes in Texas." Now comes his managers' dubious proposal to GOP delegates of cost-free junkets to visit him. This is a cozy arrangement indeed, but why confine it to the delegates; why not continue to tell the voters where he stands? On the Taft side there is the bare-faced steal of the GOP convention in Texas, as high-handed an operation as modern politics has produced. Taft has now categorically promised South Dakota voters that if nominated and elected, with a GOP Congress, he will cut taxes "15 percent" within one year. Tax revenues are now $70.5 billion annually so Taft flatly promises a cut of $10.5 billion. This is an irresponsible promise. The cut could be made only by gutting America's defense and foreign-aid programs. This, with previous foreign-policy statements, persuades us that Taft is the one really dangerous man who has run for the American Presidency in the past 20 years. He will go into the convention with the Old Guard behind him and more pledged delegates than Ike, and may well get the nomination. We believe almost any Democrat can defeat Taft, but his mere nomination would be a major blow to confidence in the US round the world.

The Supreme Court's 6 to 3 decision rejecting Truman's April 8 seizure of the steel mills may be good law but it precipitates an ugly crisis. The decision does not affect the equities of the workers' original position. The Wage Stabilization Board found the union demands justified. Philip Murray has held his hand repeatedly, placing national interest before expediency or labor politics. He has voluntarily waited out a longer cooling off period than the Taft-Hartley Act provides. To impose that Act now will cause trouble. There is some indication that the employers are seeking to provoke a strike to hit Truman and the union with the same stone.

It is an open secret that sometime after the election France will tell America that she can no longer shoulder the cost of the Indo-China war. Like France, Britain is over-extended outside Europe and will need more help. This means (a) the US must put up more money; or (b) there must be a further stretch-out of the democracies' rearmament program; or (c) there will be a breakdown in containment somewhere in Asia or Europe. Instead of voting more money, Congress is bent on buying security at bargain rates. Last week the Senate cut Truman's foreign-aid bill 15 percent below the program based on the Lisbon Conference; the House cut it 21 percent. Republicans led the "econ-

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omy" fight, and it is Republicans who are recklessly promising the electorate tax cuts for votes.

You don't hear so many McCarthy attacks on Acheson these days. The Secretary has just returned from initialing the Bonn agreement which the NY *Times* calls the "most momentous and most successful conference since the end of the war." It is a beginning anyway, and it is McCarthy's "pro-Communist" Acheson who forged the agreement that so irritates the Soviet. The Wisconsin Senator appeared on Theodore Granik's *Youth Wants To Know* radio program the other day. A young lady said, "Senator McCarthy, my name is Happy O'Connor. I want to know have you ever used wire-tapping?" The Senator paused. "Thank you, next question," he said. "Can't you give any answer at all?" repeated obstinate Miss O'Connor. "I do not think I will answer that," McCarthy replied. "Why not?" asked the brutal teen-ager. Again a pause. Then McCarthy lamely repeated, "I said, 'No I cannot answer'." Before a Congressional committee McCarthy would have had to add ". . . Because it would tend to degrade or incriminate me."

Labor should take warning. It is an open secret that Republicans will introduce new anti-labor legislation banning industry-wide bargaining after the election if victorious. On the same day that spokesmen for the US Chamber of Commerce and the NAM appeared before a Senate Labor Subcommittee urging such legislation last week the *Wall Street Journal* published an interview with Taft. Taft forces like to assert that "Wall Street" favors Ike, but the *Wall Street Journal* curiously enough backs Taft. The paper said Taft favored a new "anti-labor monopoly law." It added discreetly, "Not surprisingly, Presidential-hopeful Taft is not advertising his views too widely." As everyone knows, big unions are the result of big business, and industry-wide bargaining has followed nationwide industries. Nothing would cripple unions faster than letting big business continue on a coast-to-coast basis but limiting union bargaining to local plants.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

or any other clergyman has to do with top-level Cabinet appointments is beyond my comprehension. I can hardly think the Cardinal paid for the call out of his own pocket—presumably it was a church matter, as well as the cable or phone call that alerted him.

3. The summary dismissal from the staff of St. Francis Hospital in Poughkeepsie of non-Catholic physicians for associations *outside* the hospital. Approved and supported by local Catholic officials.

These are but three quite recent illustrations of the steady bludgeoning and intimidation of various communities by a well-organized and disciplined religious minority.

Mr. Fitzpatrick wonders about solutions? Why simply a democratic church like others, in which the clergy are employed and controlled by the lay members instead of exerting their present absolute authority. It is precisely because we know that lay Catholics have virtually no control over the policies of their church that we non-Catholics—sometimes with great difficulty—try to differentiate between individual Catholics and their church.

New York City DANIEL KRUPP BRADLEY

Moved to Poetry

● Monday morning the early Nevada sun was pouring into my room. Husband gone to work, children still asleep—what better time to enjoy the *New Republic's* Spring Book Number? So I did! And when I came to Kimon Friar's fine review, I felt inspired, and had to get up and go in search of pencil and paper!

In the resultant poem as you will see I stole words, phrases, ideas. I know it's legitimate to kidnap another's brain-children if you raise them in the way that they should go! (We'd say so few brilliant things else!) But to *what* extent? Have I gone too far? Or worse, changed Mr. Friar's meanings enough to spoil them? (Spoiled brain-children. Worse and worse!)

The poem's creation was fun, and I shall enjoy amazing my friends.

THE STRANGERS

Two there will be forever stranger here,
Remote and sep'rate as the years unfold:
One is the Poet, tautly passionate;
And one serenely lives, naïve and bold.

Born with an easy grace in beauty's light,
Yet unaware of self—not wise, not chained;
Accepting happiness with shining eyes,
His heritage of pain unmissed, unclaimed.

Like power encircled by magnetic field,
This youth moves ever wrapped in radiance;
All unaware th' eternal mystery—
His dignity mid God's magnificence!
As 'cross a chasm he views the Poet's face,
Missing the heartache—beating of clipped wings.
"Poets are wild and free—no mortal race!
While clay am I, a lyre within them sings!"

The chasm's real, and tho to leap across
He's strength and courage (blessed legacy!)
He'd find no home within that tortured vale
Of poets' dark despair, sharp ecstacy.

Of longings vain, eternal questionings,
Anguish with each fresh crucifixion shared,
Passion that ever wonders at itself.
A poet free? Alas, his feet ensnared!

Never he'll walk the path of comrad'ry
With careless youth, too thrilled by such bold grace.
Never he'll live, except vicariously,
Within that radiance—that childlike faith.

Doomed to feel Autumn in the summer breeze,
Mourning, in scent of flowers, leafless trees.
Doub'ly despairing: "Life and loss and death
Are one in nature; in us too—as these?"

What recompense? An agonizing hope,
A hope deliberate—finally to feel
The sound the mystics felt that echoes woke
With words like starshine, haunting and unreal;

"Timeless your flight, and strong the wings you wore
That bore you on from star to brighter star
Thru light invisible. Your home's not here.
Your home's in heaven; and heaven is far—is far."

Hawthorne, Nev. MARY JOY ENTWISTLE

The Vandenberg Papers

● Gerald Johnson's whitewash of the late Senator Vandenberg (*NR*, April 21) overlooks the fact that he was a spokesman for the auto lobby and only gave up isolation when they found it less profitable. Republicans are hard up for heroes.

Corinth, Miss. C. G. HAMILTON

ADA Study Trips

● Liberals planning to visit Europe this summer may be interested in the trips sponsored this year, as in the past three years, by Americans for Democratic Action.

Enrollment is still open for trips by sea or air to Britain and to Scandinavia, with 10 days in Berlin and Western Germany in either case. In all countries visited, the emphasis will be on meeting progressive Europeans and improving mutual understanding.

Those interested may write ADA Study Trips, 1341 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington 6, D. C., for further information.

MRS. DORIS FOSTER
Director ADA Trips Abroad

Washington, D. C.

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VOLUME 126, NUMBER 23, ISSUE 1958, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 9, 1952 **New Republic**

WILL STEVENSON BE THE NOMINEE?

THE REPUBLICANS may be able to achieve for the Democrats what their own leaders were unable to do for themselves—clear the way for the nomination of Adlai E. Stevenson on the Democratic ticket.

The violence of the contest between Senator Taft and General Eisenhower and the resulting bitterness which is permeating the whole fabric of their party is decreasing the chances of a Republican victory this year and thereby encouraging contenders for the Democratic nomination to ever greater efforts. Under the circumstances, it is possible that a Democratic deadlock will develop and that someone other than one of today's active contenders will be chosen to lead the Democrats.

At the present moment Alben Barkley, Averell Harriman, Estes Kefauver, Robert Kerr, Brien McMahon and Richard Russell are in the race. Harriman, Kefauver and Russell are running far in front of the rest of the pack. Harriman, a late entrant who came into the race only after Governor Stevenson had announced his desire to be out of it, got off to a fast start with the 80 convention votes which were handed to him as the favorite-son designee of New York State. The Associated Press tabulation of known delegate strength currently gives Harriman a scattering of only 5.5 additional votes. But temporarily at least, Harriman is wearing the White House colors, and by virtue of this fact can be expected to have on the first ballot at Chicago the backing of a major share of the delegates from such Administration strongholds as Massachusetts, Missouri, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as well as possible later support from groups in Ohio, Michigan and Connecticut who are bound to favorite-son candidates.

Kefauver will have a formidable first ballot strength with the votes amassed by hard effort through 14 state primary campaigns and through personal campaigning with individual delegates from the non-primary states.

Russell, with the united support of the 1948 Dixiecrat forces, should come close to approximating the strength of Kefauver and Harriman on the first test vote.

With only about 15 percent of the 1,230 delegates to the Democratic National Convention remaining to be chosen, it is possible to form a general picture of what is likely to occur in the early stages of the balloting if no surprise factors emerge between now and July 21. It is elementary strategy that a candidate does not reveal his full strength on the first ballot. The winning psychology is to show mounting power on each successive roll call. The smart tactician carefully counts his entire potential and arranges to have cast for him on the first ballot the maximum he can spare and retain a reserve for several rounds to come. Harriman, Kefauver and Russell may all three be in a position to direct the casting of approximately 300 votes for themselves on the first ballot following this plan of battle. From the outside looking in, it is difficult to see how any one of these three men, however, can attain the necessary 616 convention votes required for nomination in the absence of some kind of combination. There will be in the neighborhood of 250 convention votes pledged initially to favorite sons. But the delegates so bound are known to be widely torn in their second-choice allegiances, and so an unlikely source of salvation for any one candidate.

There would seem to be all the makings of a Democratic deadlock inherent in the 1952 situation.

If neither Harrimann or Kefauver approximates 600 votes by the third ballot, the Democrats, seeing in the Republican feud the making of a sixth straight Democratic victory, will be bent on attaining agreement on a party candidate of the stature to win. The move if Kefauver or Harriman fail to secure a majority would almost certainly be to Adlai Stevenson—or in the event that he again refused, perhaps to Sen. Paul H. Douglas. But the likelihood of Stevenson's rejecting a nomination offered under these conditions is, we believe, highly unlikely.

We attach great significance to the fact that Stevenson has resisted steady and increasing pressure from Harriman's backers that he endorse Harriman to run instead of him. A tremendous drive was staged to have Stevenson take the occasion of introducing Harriman at a recent Chicago dinner to place the mantle on his shoulders. Stevenson presented Harriman that evening with the warmest commendation, but Stevenson's own remarks not only implied no endorsement but in fact were so styled that the speaker of the evening had difficulty in following to advantage. If it were really a case of his being perhaps the one man who could break a genuine Democratic deadlock and go on to possible victory against the divided Republicans, there is every reason to believe that he would be duty-bound to serve.

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THE WEEK

BIG-TIME LOBBYING

For the first year since 1946 when Congress passed the Lobby Registration Act, requiring organizations to reveal funds used to sway legislative decisions, the amount of money reported showed a decrease. In 1950 lobbyists reported spending $10.3 million, with the $1.3 million spending spree of the American Medical Association topping the list. Last year, the lobbyists spent $9.4 million—the decrease primarily due to the fact that the AMA declared it spent only $450,372 in 1951 to defeat the federal-aid-to-medical-schools bill and other Administration health measures.

Some 23 organizations reported spending over $100,000 last year, according to registration figures compiled by the *Congressional Quarterly*. The American Farm Bureau Federation—the big-business farm organization—reached an all-time high of $1.5 million in expenditures to promote its propaganda drive against Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan's farm program. The Committee for Constitutional Government gave Edward Rumely and its other legislative representatives $773,957 to smear the Administration as "socialistic."

While the AMA ranks third among the big-time lobbies, its recent success in defeating the long-overdue $5 a month increase for the old folks now living on social-security pensions is indicative of its formidable strength. The House on May 19 was prepared to pass the measure without controversy when Congressmen were besieged with telegrams from the AMA, declaring that a minor section of the bill (which would permit the government to establish the rules under which private or company doctors would declare an employee permanently disabled) was "socialized medicine." Despite a warning from Rep. Robert W. Kean (R, N.J.), that in this election year the Democrats would make the most of the fact that House Republicans voted against social-security improvement and for the Doctors' Lobby," 99 Republicans joined by 42 Democrats, mostly from the South, defeated the bill 149 to 141—45 votes short of the two-thirds required by the motion to suspend the rules so the bill could be brought up for passage.

CONNALLY'S LAST FIGHT

Sen. Tom Connally (D, Tex.) accomplished his final task—extension of the Mutual Security Act—in a burst of inspired showmanship. Flaying the opposition, beating his rebellious fellow-Democrats into line, he somehow mustered the votes to approve a $6.7 billion foreign-aid program beating back all but one of the attempts to slash the bill from the $6.9 figure recommended by his Foreign Relations Committee. Led by isolationist Herman Welker (Idaho), a Republican-dominated alliance joined by some Southerners and Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) failed in their attempt, as Connally put it, to declare themselves in favor of the bill's principle but to "cut its throat, chop off its tail and amputate its head."

Of all the similar fights Connally can look back on, none has been more dramatic than that of this year. The effort to preserve the reasonable bills reported by both committees was nip-and-tuck every minute. Then came the Senate floor debate, where the economizers tried to cut the aid authorization first by $1 billion, then $500 million, then $400 million, failing each time. Their success was limited to cutting off $200 million on the last try. Connally also prevailed on the Senate to defeat the Butler (R, Neb.) amendment, aimed particularly at India, which would have prohibited the sending of large quantities of vital Point Four farm and other equipment.

Repetitive as it is of past actions, the debate this year pointed up some interesting facts. For one thing, it showed that Eisenhower's loyal Senate followers number less than 10—with the vast majority of Republicans, including "liberals" like Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (Me.), following Taft. An analysis of the votes also shows an amazing continuity in the voting, with about the same number of Senators supporting aid now as favored the Marshall Plan in the more peaceful days of 1949. Finally, in the Senate at least, it was also shown that the siren call of economy, sounded by legislators with eyes on the Chicago beachhead, can be defeated by determined strategy even late in an election year.

RUSSIA'S INTENTIONS

The New York *Times* of June first had 11 top headlines about international news, all of them bad. In Berlin the Russians are proceeding with plans to cut off the city from the West, and to make life miserable in every possible way for the inhabitants of its non-Communist sector. In France, the anti-American riots of the Communists have been on a huge scale, and the attitude of the French Government suggests they are almost at the level of revolution.

In Japan, similar riots are harassing the newly independent regime. The Korean peace talks continue to get nowhere. The demonstrations among prisoners of war in UN hands, while they began as a result of bungling by the American command, have gone on to assume the aspect of a successful Communist propaganda campaign. The Reds continue to press their charges of germ warfare. Our military experts testify to Russia's power to overrun Western Europe, to her great superiority in certain types of military aircraft, and to the Communists' strength in Korea.

Does all this mean that Russia is about to launch a third world war? Not necessarily; not even probably. Her immediate purpose is to try to scare the Western powers out of ratifying the new agreements with Germany; Moscow is making the mistake she (and other governments) continually makes of not realizing that no large country ever abandons an important course of action under external pressure. Russia's policy for

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years has been to make as much trouble as she can in every possible part of the world, partly as blackmail, partly in the real attempt to soften up other countries for possible Communist revolutions. War is certainly possible; there is always the chance of an accidental explosion. It seems likely however that if the Russians wanted war now they would start with a sneak attack like Pearl Harbor rather than a beating of the tom-toms.

ANTI-McCARTHYITES UNITE

In an effort to unite the forces opposing Sen. Joe McCarthy, Thomas E. Fairchild has announced he will not be a Democratic candidate in the race against the Wisconsin Republican. If there were more than one Democratic candidate, it would mean that the nominee would not be chosen until September, with only a short period remaining before the final election. Democratic candidate Henry Reuss, now unopposed, said Fairchild's "generous decision will bring unity to the forces which are interested in erasing the stain of McCarthyism in Wisconsin this fall."

"HOME" STATES ON THE BALLOT

Local pride is a decisive factor in many American elections. This was demonstrated in Oregon May 16 when Justice William O. Douglas ran decisively ahead of Gov. Adlai Stevenson for second place in the Democratic Presidential preference primaries.

Douglas was listed in the ballot as "William O. Douglas of Oregon." The Oregon *Daily Journal* of Portland believes this was determining between him and Stevenson.

Ownership of a summer cabin in the Oregon mountains appears to be the sole claim on which this residence was based. Douglas was born in Minnesota, educated in the state of Washington and appointed to the Supreme Court from Connecticut. Today he lives in the District of Columbia but lists Washington State as his home.

The Oregon ballot threw significant light on the whole question of "home" states. Dwight Eisenhower, who was born in Texas, was listed as "Dwight D. Eisenhower of Kansas." Texas isn't a particularly auspicious base for a man angling in Northern trout streams. Douglas MacArthur was listed as "of Wisconsin," although the great man was born in Arkansas. And the peripatetic Harold Stassen, once a native of Minnesota, a state with 11 electoral votes, appeared on the ballot as "of Pennsylvania," which can offer a successful candidate some 32 electoral votes.

The whole Oregon episode calls for some ground rules on the designation of an aspirant's so-called home state. It should be either the state of the candidate's birth or the state where he maintains his full-time residence. Otherwise there will be an irresistible temptation to start erecting beach cottages or mountain bungalows in California, New York and other states which can offer electorial-vote bonanzas to favorite sons.

UTILITIES VS THE PEOPLE

President Truman dropped in on the Electric Consumers Conference, meeting in Washington, D. C., and gave the private-utility companies another tongue-lashing. The private-power interests, the President said, are "deliberately and in cold blood setting out to poison the minds of the people." Spending millions of dollars in a propaganda campaign, the utilities hope to "influence the mass mind in this country by playing on people's emotions. . . . They have taken a leaf right out of the books of Karl Marx and Adolf Hitler. They are following the Soviet and Fascist lines."

The utilities, like the American Medical Association, "don't have any issues on which to hang their hats," the President said, so they and their "high-priced talent and advertising agencies" have dug up the scare-word "socialism." He charged:

> They are sponsoring nationwide radio programs which cost them many thousands of dollars every week. They are running full-page ads in the big magazines, month after month. Do you know that just one full-page ad in Mr. Clare Booth Luce's *Life* magazine costs $17,000? And in one big corporation-controlled *Saturday Evening Post*, it costs $12,000? They are turning out pamphlets and leaflets and canned editorials by the score. . . .

The President said these advertising costs are being paid by consumers and promised that he would ask the Attorney General to see if the Corrupt Practices Act isn't being violated here.

NEW PLAN TO CUT ARMS

The United States, France and Great Britain have suddenly brought before the UN a new proposal for limitation of armies. Under its terms, Russia, the United States and "China" would each have from a million to a million and a half men under arms, France and Great Britain from 700,000 to 800,000, and all other nations not more than one percent of their population. The agreement would be contingent on ending the war in Korea, and acceptance of a general plan for arms reduction and control of atomic energy. This may be considered the West's reply to Russia's proposal for an across-the-board one-third cut in military strength. Unlike Russia's plan, which would leave all present disparities in existence, this one would give East and West roughly three million soldiers each.

Is this scheme put forward seriously, or is it merely a propaganda device? The first rule of diplomacy is that international understanding must precede, not follow, proposals for reduction of armament; we are far from such an understanding with the Communist bloc. Yet conceivably, discussion of armament reduction might usefully accompany efforts to come to some sort of working agreement on other matters. While we did not say so, Communist China is the government referred to, and not Chiang Kai-shek's regime. Peking would therefore get some degree of official recognition under UN auspices. Germany would have so few troops that she could never be a menace to Russia again. While East and West still seem far apart on control of atomic weapons, the gap is less wide than it appears, as the *New Republic* has shown on several occasions. The new proposal may have been intended chiefly to try to seize the propaganda initiative from Russia at a moment when we have been fighting a defensive and perhaps a losing battle in the war of words. Yet it also contains the basis for a legitimate attempt to reduce world tensions.

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BEHIND FECHTELER'S REPORT

THE CASE of the so-called "Zinovieff Letter" in 1924 is in a way a precedent for the recent case of the so-called "Fechteler Report."

The authenticity of the Zinovieff Letter was widely questioned as soon as it was said to have been found in a raid on a Soviet office in London. But it was not until well after the document had served an abundantly plain political purpose—causing the downfall of the first British Labour Government—that it was conclusively proved to be a forgery.

The publication by the *Monde* of Paris of the Fechteler Report was at once followed by a wave of official denials. The report was said by the *Monde* to have been written by the American Chief of Naval Operations in January and to have been sent by him to the National Security Council in Washington. But a copy was "intercepted" by British Military Intelligence in the United States, transmitted to the Admiralty in London, and then made available to a man named Bloch-Morhange, a Frenchman who once had a job in the French Government.

Everyone concerned said that this story was utterly false, that the alleged report was a forgery and its publication a plant intended to serve a plainly anti-American political purpose. Antoine Pinay, the French Premier, went so far as to say that the newspaper which had published it had committed "an imprudence, if not a wicked act."

The fact that the document was published on the very same day that the draft treaty of the European Defense Community was initialed put it in the framework of deliberate political sabotage. And this impression was strengthened by the rumor that the document had—before its acceptance by the *Monde*—been offered to and refused by two other Parisian newspapers, *Combat* and *France-Soir*. No one tried to explain how Bloch-Morhange got it.

Even some members of the *Monde* staff protested. One of them, Remy Roure, the chief editorial writer, formerly a member of the staff of the prewar conservative *Temps*, resigned. In a letter of resignation he expressed the view that "peace is too fragile and the solidarity of the free nations too precious" to be jeopardized imprudently. As an ardent Atlanticist, he was plainly accusing the editor of the *Monde*, Hubert Beuve-Mery, of anti-American neutralism.

And one of the peculiarities of the case is that Beuve-Mery made no effort to defend himself. On the contrary, he stuck to his apparent "faith" in the authenticity of the report and, instead of parrying the blows raining upon him and his newspaper, calmly counter-attacked. He said: "It is also true—and that is the drama in which France is struggling at present—that neither [peace nor the solidarity of nations] can be saved by weakness, fear or blindness in regard to our friends and allies."

As the New York *Times* Paris correspondent accurately pointed out, the denials did not necessarily counteract the effect of the document in Europe, for "official denials, at least on this side of the Atlantic, rarely are taken literally" and hence the effect "is to some extent independent of its authenticity."

One of the reasons is that the document, even if it is a forgery, quotes Admiral Carney as saying pretty accurately some of the things which have already been often said by proponents of Senator Taft's alleged foreign policy. Men supposedly close to the Pentagon have also been quoted over here as favoring the "peripheral defense of Europe"—as believing that the US might not be able to defend Europe from attack and occupation and therefore should plan to launch a counter-attack from the Mediterranean.

It is considered significant moreover that the alleged report offers defeatism about the chances of defending Europe from the west as little more than a preface to the real substance of the military survey. That substance is a politico-military detailed statement of the supposed advantages of a specifically American strategy of specifically offensive military operations in the Mediterranean. If, the document argues, the Americans fully take over in that area, if they develop and exploit Arab nationalism, and if they grasp full control of the oil supplies of the Near East, they will be able to mount successfully a great offensive against "the Eurasian aggressor and his ideologies."

Now, it happens that for some months the Mediterranean strategy of the Atlantic powers has been the object of serious controversy. The core of the political aspect of the controversy, which involves differing views in Paris and Washington, is whether Arab nationalism is to be fostered in such places as Tunisia, Morocco and Algiers. The reception of the alleged report in Egypt shows clearly an awareness that, if the report were true, Washington might be on the way to dispossessing the French from the southern shores of the Mediterranean.

The core of the military aspect, on the other hand, involves the quarrel between London and Washington about the Mediterranean command. That in turn hinges on a debate over differing conceptions of strategy: the British want a defensive strategy, using their land bases and in essence preserving the vestiges of their political and economic predominance in the Near East; the Americans favor an aggressive strategy proceeding from moveable bases—American aircraft carriers—and making superior American economic and military power take on open political meaning from Gibraltar, through Malta and Cyprus to the Indian Ocean.

Thus, if the Fechteler Report were true, it might mean also that Washington was on the way toward replacing the British *raj* in some of its most ancient citadels. And from either one of two possible points of view—the nationalist and imperialist in both Britain and France, or the common Franco-British in regard to what the Americans call the "colonial" world—some men in London and some in Paris might see eye to eye, without necessarily sharing any basic enmity toward Washington.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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"I DECLINE TO ANSWER . . ."

by Eugene Gressman

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution provides that no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself. This constitutional protection, commonly known as the privilege against self-incrimination, is being persistently invoked in hearings before Congressional committees so as to avoid answering crucial inquiries. Issues both moral and legal are thereby raised. They are issues that do not admit of easy resolution; but they do demand understanding so that intelligent judgments can be made as to the propriety of such frequent reliances on the privilege.

These issues are posed in their most dramatic form in the endless hearings conducted by the inexhaustible House Committee on Un-American Activities. The stream of witnesses before that committee continues in a steady flow along well-worn ruts. The focal point of inquiry is always the Communist affiliations and sympathies of the witness or his friends or associates; he is asked to undress his past and bring to light any subversive elements therein. Not infrequently the witness balks. He refuses to "co-operate"—to use the committee's term—in this public desecration of his right of privacy. And his refusal takes the now-familiar form: "I decline to answer on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me and thus violate my rights under the Fifth Amendment."

Just what motivates a person to take this position? Raising the protective umbrella of the privilege to escape the rain of questions makes it natural to conclude that the witness does have a red-hued background. If he does not, then how could honest answers incriminate him so as to warrant use of the privilege? Most witnesses who rely on the Fifth Amendment realize the inevitability of this adverse conclusion being drawn, a conclusion that usually is correct but without benefit of explanation or understanding. Yet they are willing to sit silently while this conclusion is explicitly or implicitly spelled out by the committee. They are willing to undergo violent abuse from the committee members, the press and the general public. And, if need be, they are even willing to forego their jobs and their careers. Why?

The answer to that question lies partly in the proud dignity of the individual involved. He feels that no one has any right to force him to reveal his beliefs, his affiliations or his associations—past or present. The American tradition has taught him that those are matters within the sacred realm of his own private life. He has a natural abhorrence of any attempt to pry into such matters, especially on the part of those who view any deviations from accepted norms as the equivalent of disloyalty or "un-Americanism." More specifically, he feels that if he was or is a Communist Party member it is a fact falling within the boundaries of legitimate private action which historically is entitled to protection against the prying eyes of inquisitors. It may be that he realizes his mistake in joining the Party, that he was young and naïve at the time, and that the antics of Party discipline soon nauseated him. Rightly or wrongly, he feels that this unfortunate episode is purely his own business. He believes he owes no obligations to anyone to proclaim all these facts.

This ingrained attachment to the right of privacy becomes even more pronounced when it is the House Committee on Un-American Activities that seeks to pierce the veil of privacy. That committee long ago forfeited all right to expect the warm glow of friendly co-operation to pervade the victims of its self-proclaimed crusade of "protecting our constitutional democracy by pitiless publicity." From the beginning it has blindly refused to recognize that any affiliation or association with the Communist Party could be other than one growing out of agreement with its assumed purpose to overthrow by force and violence the government of the United States at the instigation of the Kremlin. It has arbitrarily labeled many liberal and humanitarian organizations as Communist-front in nature and has presumed that anyone who belonged or contributed to them was propelled by Communist sympathies or was uncommonly stupid. Liberal or New Deal beliefs have been indiscriminately viewed as radical or Communist where they chanced to coincide with the Party line. Failure to conform to the recognized conservative viewpoints or to the official policies of the government, in matters both domestic and foreign, too often has been considered the trademark of un-Americanism.

The committee has consistently encouraged and invited "any person having definite information concerning the identities of any Communist or knowledge of subversive endeavors to furnish such information to the committee." The disgruntled or jealous informant, the rumor monger, the village idiot and the professional red-baiter have thus been given a ready forum, replete with photo-

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graphers' flash bulbs, top-notch reporters and an overflow crowd of the curious. The place of honor, of course, has been reserved for any and every ex-Communist who is willing to talk freely, remember places and name names.

Always the emphasis is on names. Who interested you in the Communist movement? Who else did you see at the meeting? Who was with you at the cocktail party? Do you know whether John Doe was a Communist? Each name mentioned by the witness is carefully noted, the spelling checked if necessary. The names dutifully appear in the next edition of the afternoon papers. A dossier is established for each new name. Small wonder that there are far more than one million names neatly indexed and cross-referenced and cumulatively indexed in the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Give us names, names, names, says the committee. Let us build up our files, our "invaluable collection of source material." Let us see how many times each name appears on "letterheads, programs, leaflets and other literature of organizations whose true purpose cannot be called American." Let us clip newspapers and magazines "by the thousands" and purchase as many pertinent books, pamphlets, newspapers and other periodicals as our budget will allow. Whatever the source, we must collect names. Then we can turn the light of "pitiless publicity" on all these Party members and dupes. We can pursue them through executive and public sessions of the committee. Proclaim their Communist tinge throughout the land so that patriots may shun and discriminate against them. Turn over the files to the Department of Justice for perjury charges wherever possible. Pursue them without surcease, pursue them to the grave if necessary. A fatal heart attack brought on by our ceaseless efforts can only mean one less possible traitor to our country.

Such are some of the thoughts that run through the minds of the "unco-operative" witness subpoenaed to appear before the committee. He knows the brutal aim of the committee to publicize endlessly, without legitimate purpose. He knows that the committee, since its inception in 1938, has yet to give birth to a constitutional piece of legislation worthy of thoughtful approval. He is not impressed by the latter-day protestations of the committee that positive proof of Communist Party membership is required prior to public identification, or its plea that the public should not make any premature evaluation as to a given individual. But of prime significance is his awareness of the committee's mania for names. He shudders at the proposed ruthless invasion of his own right of privacy. He rebels even more, however, at the thought of becoming an informer as to his friends and associates, who would thereby lose their privacy in return for a torrent of vilification. There is almost an automatic chemical reaction against the invitation to put on the mantle made infamous by Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley. And so the "unco-operative witness" tends to look to the Fifth Amendment as the only possible means of preserving his self-respect.

Having made the moral choice of refusing to answer the committee's crucial questions, the "unco-operative" witness is then confronted with a variety of legal conundrums. He must know what questions may and may not properly call forth use of the privilege against self-incrimination. And he must be on constant guard that answering one seemingly innocuous question will not later be held to have constituted a waiver of the privilege. As Justice Black has said, such witnesses are in a dilemma: "On the one hand, they risk imprisonment for contempt by asserting the privilege prematurely; on the other, they might lose the privilege if they answer a single question." It is a dilemma that can be resolved only by proper timing as to invocation of the privilege, a timing that can be so refined that lawyers sometimes have difficulty in knowing when to advise claiming the privilege.

The Fifth Amendment permits the "unco-operative" witness to decline to answer questions only if the answers actually would tend to incriminate him criminally. He does not, of course, have to prove to the committee or to any judge before whom he is cited for contempt that the answer to a particular question would in fact incriminate him. If that were the nature of the burden, he would be forced to divulge the very facts that the immunity permits him to suppress. Thus the witness need only show that his answers are likely to be dangerous to him. If in the circumstances it is reasonable to infer the possibility of incrimination from the answers that the witness might give, the privilege will be held to be claimable.

It seems clear, in light of court decisions, that the witness may properly assert the privilege and decline to answer whether he himself is, or was, a Communist Party member. True, the Party itself has not yet been outlawed by the United States so as to make membership per se illegal. But conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence is a crime; and the Smith Act has made it unlawful to advocate or encourage violent overthrow or to be a member of a group with knowledge that it advocates such overthrow. A unanimous Supreme Court has recognized, then, that answer-

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ing questions as to Party membership or activity might furnish a link in the chain of evidence needed in a prosecution for violation of the Smith Act. In other words, the answer need not reveal a crime in order to be incriminating. It is enough if it might furnish a clue or a link in a chain of evidence that leads to proof of an illegal act. Such is the nature of most answers to questions propounded by the House committee as to which the privilege is claimed.

Some witnesses have adopted the technique of denying present Party membership or sympathy but refusing to answer questions as to past membership or sympathy. Thus a witness may claim the privilege and refuse to tell whether he was a member 10 minutes ago, 10 days ago or at any prior time; but he is vigorously positive in his assertion that he is not now a member. The theory here is that answering any questions as to past membership, however recent or remote in time, waives the privilege and opens the door to all questions as to the past. The bolt is accordingly shut tight on any question other than present membership in the Party, the truthful answer to which does not incriminate if he is in fact not a member.

But the witness definitely cannot assert the privilege in aid of his friends while freely talking about himself. The privilege is purely a personal one, pertaining only to the witness himself. Once he admits or denies his own Party activities or sympathies, at least as to the past, the privilege has been waived and it cannot be reasserted. Disclosure of the prime fact waives the privilege as to details. He has opened the door, and he must then answer any and all questions about himself and his friends. In a recent case the Supreme Court held that when a witness admitted that she was the treasurer of a local unit of the Communist Party, she could not then legitimately refuse to identify the person to whom she had given the Party's books. The Court stated that "a refusal to answer cannot be justified by a desire to protect others from punishment, much less to protect another from interrogation." Hence the witness who is anxious to protect his friends from the perils of the House committee must assert the privilege as to himself in the first instance if he is to have any chance of accomplishing his aim.

Manifold questions also arise as to the propriety of raising the privilege as to subsidiary inquiries which do not touch directly upon the witness' Party membership or sympathy. In fact, an inquiry as to whether a friend of the witness is a Communist can be of this nature. Suffice it to say that if it can reasonably be said that the answer might in some way incriminate the witness, such as indicating that the witness was at a Party meeting where the friend was present, the privilege can be asserted. But the privilege has also been used, without challenge to date by the House committee, as to subsidiary questions where the incriminating link is quite remote or even non-existent.

The privilege against self-incrimination is not one designed to meet the approval of the inquisitors or the general public. Members of the House committee try every means to embarrass the witness, to appeal to his patriotism, or to draw the obvious conclusions from the assertion of the privilege, all in an effort to draw out the desired answers. Its use, like the outlawry of the fruits of police brutality and third-degree methods, frustrates the investigatory process and forces reliance on other techniques of law enforcement. Jeremy Bentham once described the privilege as a "double-distilled and treble-refined sentimentality," and the remark has been made by Justice Cardozo that justice "would not perish if the accused were subject to a duty to respond to orderly inquiry."

Yet the framers of the Bill of Rights, reflecting the overwhelming public demand of the Revolutionary period, took the view that compelling a person to convict himself of crime is contrary to the principles of a free government. As the Supreme Court itself has stated, compelling testimony of an incriminating character "may suit the purposes of despotic power," but "it cannot abide the pure atmosphere of political liberty and personal freedom." The privilege is thus embedded firmly in our history and in our Constitution. It is there for the use of witnesses before the House committee, as well as persons summoned before other official inquiries. The fact that no one has yet been subjected to criminal punishment as the result of answering questions put by the House committee does not make it any less proper to assert the privilege. It is the possibility of criminal liability, not the actual fact, that determines the legal propriety of using the privilege.

It may well be that passage of an effective statute granting full criminal immunity to witnesses testifying before Congressional committees is the proper answer to the impasse created by the "unco-operative" witness. But the abuses made of evidence received by these committees would still remain even were such a statute enacted. It is those abuses of the House committee which have made so many witnesses unwilling to co-operate. Actual eradication of them is the only real remedy. Unfortunately, that could be done only by removing the fostering sore of hysteria which now affects the body politic in general and the House committee in particular. Time alone can tell when that event will occur.

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WHAT'S BEHIND THE HANDSHAKE?

by Harry Conn

IN THE FALL of 1947 the president of the American Economic Association, University of Chicago Professor Paul A. Douglas, now senior US Senator from Illinois, was shopping around for a principal speaker for the Association's annual convention.

Douglas, then as now, was deeply concerned over the steady trend toward concentration of industry and finance in this country. As the star for this meeting, Professor Douglas wanted a Washington official not only intimately acquainted with the subject, but one who had actively sought to combat the trend. After combing through the records and histories of Representatives, Senators and agency officials, he settled on a young, East Tennessee Congressman who had directed the activities of a House Monopoly Subcommittee and had headed an illuminating investigation of the effectiveness of government efforts to combat concentration. That Congressman's name was Estes Kefauver. Douglas did not know him at the time he extended the speaking invitation.

Estes Kefauver

The Kefauver address to the economists that year in Chicago is still remembered. Unemotionally he analyzed the growing threat of monopoly and described the government's inability to cope adequately with the situation. Finally he offered a detailed, long-range anti-trust program. The convention was impressed. After that address a deep personal and intellectual friendship developed between Douglas and Kefauver and together, in the US Senate since 1949, they have fought for many of the proposals advanced by the Tennessean that day.

Few people think of the gangling man with the horn-rimmed glasses and the coonskin cap, presently in the process of wracking up one Presidential primary victory after another, as a student of basic economic problems. The Kefauver they know is the soft-spoken, modest crime investigator who has exposed corruption, or the man of rare audacity who has taken on governors, big-city political machine bosses and even the President of the United States—and almost always come out on top.

Yet almost everything for which the Tennessee Senator is now known to most Americans was until recently only a side-line interest. The fundamental motivating interests of Estes Kefauver which led to his being named by *Collier's* Congressional Award Committee as one of the 10 outstanding men in the House in 1946 and receiving similar recognition later in the Senate have been obscured by the sensationalism of corruption hunting.

Many usually discerning liberals refuse to believe that there can be either conviction or profundity beneath the coonskin cap. They see him as a TV clown, a handshaker, a headline hunter, weak in his position on civil rights and inexperienced in the vital field of foreign affairs. They admit that his voting record is good. But what does Kefauver have to offer, they ask, besides his votes?

In November, 1948, a few days after Kefauver had startled political experts by upsetting the well-entrenched Tennessee political machine of Boss Ed Crump and being elected Senator, he had luncheon with two old associates in Washington. One was an outstanding political scientist and student of government. The other was a well-known government economist, an expert on monopoly. They discussed with the new Senator his 10-year record in the House and offered advice on the nature of his work in the Senate. Kefauver insisted that he would do best to concentrate on the basic fields in which he had already become somewhat expert: anti-trust legislation, legislative reorganization and civil liberties. Newer interests to which he also felt impelled to devote considerable time were foreign relations and Atlantic Union. He mentioned one possible deviation from these four basic fields—a crime investigation—but almost as an after-thought.

Shortly after coming to the House of Representatives in 1939 Kefauver developed a concern for small businesses. They were disappearing with far too great rapidity. By 1945 he was deep in the study of major business

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organization and felt that he had arrived at one of the roots of the small business problem. There was a major loophole in the Clayton Anti-Trust Act which needed to be plugged. The Clayton Act, which had been passed in 1914 to outlaw practices creating monopoly, prohibited mergers through stock purchasing. Mergers were still being effected by one company's buying up the assets of another. In 1926 the Supreme Court had upheld the practice, and ever since the Federal Trade Commission had been pleading for amendment to the law. From 1945 to 1950 Kefauver persisted in this fight. In the 79th Congress his amendment to accomplish the reform was reported out of the Judiciary Committee only to be blocked by the Rules Committee. Finally, in the 81st Congress, Kefauver, as a Senator, at last secured passage of the amendment. The debate demonstrated his real knowledge of his subject.

A leading government economist in the monopoly field told the *New Republic* that, in his opinion, what George Norris was in the public power field, Estes Kefauver is in the field of anti-trust legislation. The latter field, vital as it is to our whole economy, is far too complicated to receive wide understanding. But many small businesses today owe their very existence to the Kefauver Amendment and the dogged persistence of the Tennessean.

Kefauver has also played a decisive role in other anti-trust legislation. In 1949 he teamed up with Paul Douglas and Sen. Russell Long (D, La.) to frustrate big-business efforts to secure basing-point legislation. This would have legalized the freight-rate absorption practices of large industry to the detriment of small business. That year he introduced an amendment to each section of the proposed legislation which read: "Unless the effect of the discrimination would be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce. . . ." It was a telling blow against the basing-point advocates. To support the amendment would render the bill ineffective. To oppose it would be to go on record as for monopoly and for less competition. In 1950 the bill was passed but vetoed by the President. In 1951 the bill was defeated in the Senate by only one vote, with Kefauver, Douglas and Long again leading the fight.

It was his fundamental interest in efficient and democratic governmental machinery which brought Estes Kefauver into politics in the first place. In the 1930s he was a successful practicing attorney in Chattanooga. The city at that time was governed by a county-council form of government which was both inefficient and corrupt. Kefauver helped to organize a Committee of 100 which sought to secure a city-manager system. This group backed candidates for the state legislature who would support such a proposal. When the candidates they elected to the state senate on this platform later ran out on their promises, Kefauver ran for the upper chamber in the following election and was defeated by less than 100 votes. The legislature, though, did vote for the reform. And several years later Kefauver was in Congress.

From the time that he entered the Congress the Tennessean was an avid student of possible reforms in the federal government. In 1944 he made a special study on "Better Executive-Legislative Teamwork in the National Government" for the American Political Science *Review*. In 1946 he was a strong supporter of the Legislative Reorganization Act which was guided through Congress by former Sen. Robert M. LaFollette Jr. of Wisconsin and former Representative and now Senator A. S. Mike Monroney of Oklahoma.

In 1947 Kefauver compiled his long-range ideas on government reform in a book called *20th Century Congress*. It stamped Kefauver as an authority on the workings of our machinery of government and today, out of all the present Congress, he is recognized as having maintained more sustained interest and understanding of this subject than perhaps any member except Monroney himself.

The Tennessee Senator is also deeply concerned with the adoption of a code for the conduct of Congressional investigations to insure fair play, a code which was devised for his Crime Investigating Committee. He advocates the televising and broadcasting of public hearings, believing that in a true democracy the citizens must be able to observe their government at work.

For years Kefauver has been a consistent fighter for home-rule for the District of Columbia, and his name is attached to numerous bills to accomplish it. Some of these have been favorably reported out of the District Committee only to be blocked elsewhere. Inside the committee Kefauver has been effective enough to win considerable Southern support despite the fact that home rule would probably wipe out segregation in the District. One Southern Senator when asked why he had supported Kefauver on this point replied: "Damn if I know. That man Kefauver talked so soft and so nice he must have just loved me into voting for it."

Kefauver's interest in civil liberties basically revolves around the personal rights of the individual in society, whether in connection with immigration, race relations, labor or judicial processes. He has gone farther than any other Southern Senator or Representative toward

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accepting the principle of fair employment practices. He supports a voluntary program now and has announced that if the Democratic platform calls for a compulsory fair-employment-practices law, he will accept that, too. But his position on fair practices stops there, far short of an adequate program for the National Democratic Party.

This may be mitigated in part by his courageous battles for civil rights in fields other than race relations. As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, under the relentless hand of Pat McCarran (D, Nev.) as chairman, Kefauver has seen what bitter injustices can be handed out to witnesses, and he is seeking to protect them by a code which worked well in his own Crime Committee. That method has been highly praised by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Kefauver's determined, last-ditch battle against McCarran's Internal Security Bill in 1950, which he felt deprived citizens of fundamental democratic rights, won him the respect of many of his colleagues who did not have the courage to vote with him in an election year. He tried to amend the McCarran Bill, both on the floor and in the Judiciary Committee, to remove some of its worst features and to write in such elemental Constitutional protections as proof of "intent to do damage to the US" or of "acts for force or violence."

During the height of the debate he told the Senate:

> . . . we will never defeat and destroy the Communist movement by adopting totalitarian methods of our own. Giving up the precious liberties which we have fought so hard to obtain will not persuade the neutral people of the world that they should come to our side instead of going over to the other side. . . . I will say that if the purpose of Congress was to give the nation security against fifth columnists, dangerous Communists, or saboteurs, so that they would not thwart our war effort and disrupt the nation, then we should have adopted the Kilgore bill . . . but rather than doing that we have gotten into a situation which I am afraid is going to result in irreparable and permanent injury to the individual liberties of our people, which is going to result in enforcing conformative thought, which is going to reduce freedom of speech, and which is going to deter the press from stating its frank opinions.

Along with Sens. William Langer, Hubert Humphrey, Herbert Lehman, Douglas and a handful of others, Kefauver crusaded to the end to sustain President Truman's subsequent veto of the McCarran Bill, though it was a futile gesture.

Kefauver's experience in his fourth basic field of interest, foreign relations, has been admittedly limited, in sharp contrast with the richness of his work against monopoly and for governmental reform. But his concentration on this subject is constantly growing. He calls peace "the greatest issue of all."

The voting record and speeches of the Tennessean classify him as a supporter of the Truman foreign policy. Where he has differed, it has been a matter of spirit or degree, his main criticism being that the Administration has often been negative or static where it should have been aggressively positive. This conviction has made him a firm advocate of Atlantic Union—a federal union of all the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries—and, indeed, its foremost spokesman in the entire Congress. Kefauver is convinced that the NATO cannot possibly survive and develop into a formidable bulwark against Communism unless it is buttressed by such a union. It would first be a political union for defense, but he foresees healthy economic co-ordination and eventually the same type of common union as has been achieved by the several states of this nation. He is careful not to detail exactly what final form this union should take, feeling that the first essential step is exploration. He has never advocated a "super-state" and the surrender of national sovereignty as has been charged by opponents.

Kefauver's foreign-relations program, in common with most of his domestic advocacies, is based on long-range planning. His proposals are generally the product of study and deliberation. But one glaring exception is the slick and easy solution he has proposed to the treacherous problem of Korea. At a recent press conference in Albuquerque, N. M., he is reported to have said that the UN should set the terms of an "honorable" truce and then give the Communists a specific time to agree to it. If they did not accept within that time, he would approve carrying the war into Manchuria.

A columnist, long friendly to the Tennessean, reflects: "This may have satisfied his listeners at the moment. But some of Kefauver's many admirers would have been more favorably impressed if he had not yielded to his own—or to his audience's impatience." This is the kind of statement politicians are expected to make in an election year. But it is drastically unlike the Kefauver of two years ago who told a reporter as the McCarran Bill came before the Senate: "I'll vote against this damn bill even if it costs me re-election."

If the Democratic Party names Estes Kefauver as its Presidential candidate, it will be because he has thoroughly demonstrated his voter appeal for the millions who watched this cool, unemotional man on TV last year and the thousands who have shaken his hand in the primaries. But there is far more substance to Estes Kefauver. The record is clear on that.

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GERMANY: "A-POLITICAL" ALLY

by Heinz Eulau

LAST WEEK, seven years after the war's end, Germany formally changed from enemy to ally. The occupation has ended, the attempts at outside reform of German political life have come to a close. In the rest of the world, many wonder just what change Germany has undergone to qualify her as an "equal partner in the community of free nations." Inside Germany, the atmosphere is quiet, cloudy and charged with potential danger. Just what danger it is difficult to say, but in so many ways—despite the changed setting and the changed cast—the Bonn Republic seems like a second performance of Weimar. The spirit that animates the performance is traditional, and gives rise to the same old, vague forebodings.

It is by no means easy to nail down just what it is that makes one feel so uncomfortable about German political life. Certainly, Nazi uniforms have disappeared from the streets; there are parties, legislatures and constitutions; the stores are well-stocked, and there has been much rebuilding; newspapers and magazines of varying political shades are published again. Of course, the Western-Soviet conflict over Germany has introduced an element that is essentially new and that creates a situation of profound uneasiness. But it is not this aspect of the German problem which is so bothersome, for one can rather readily understand it. Pending the resolution of the international conflict, Germany is living on borrowed time, and given the uncertainty of the international situation as it affects Germany, it is quite understandable that many Germans are unwilling to commit themselves and to be enthusiastic partisans of either Western democracy or Eastern totalitarianism. With the prevailing uncertainty as to the direction of future political winds, commitment to one side or the other involves risks which politically insecure people like the Germans are unlikely to take. Hence the politics of "neutralism"—of playing it safe, of not sticking your neck out, of not getting burned.

But I'm unwilling to accept this "neutralism" at its present face value. For there are Germans who do commit themselves, on the Left, in the Center, on the Right. They do take a chance, particularly if they are willing to assume governmental responsibilities. That is true of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the men around him at Bonn, just as it is true of Premier Otto Grotewohl in Berlin and his supporters. Both depend on support from the respective outside powers and this support, whether it comes from Washington or from Moscow, is a political liability. For most Germans resent it, and hidden behind their apparent "neutralism" of today is that type of German nationalism which claims to be "a-political," something above parties and political issues.

This type of nationalism is quite different from the Nazi chauvinism of racial superiority, and it is probably much more difficult to cope with than its totalitarian perversion, for it makes for political submissiveness, apathy and confusion of issues. In the long run, I believe, it is a greater threat to the development of democracy in Germany than open commitment to Communism or Neo-Fascism. The totalitarians of Right and Left can be identified and combatted. But the political "a-politicism" of the majority of Germans is elusive, for it is deeply ingrained in their culture pattern and personality structure.

I was amazed by the number of Germans who, when asked their opinion of the political situation, will at first protest their lack of interest in political matters. But, in short order, they will attack with surprising vehemence the "party bureaucrats" who, they say, are in politics only to stuff their own pockets. And if you press them a little more they will finally confide that Hitler's "big mistakes" had been to exterminate the Jews and start the war, but that apart from these blunders the Nazis had done "a lot of good." That anti-Semitism and war were part and parcel of Nazism, that it would not have been what it was without them is apparently quite incomprehensible to these Germans. These people were not Nazis in the strict sense of the word, and they were not anti-Semites and did not like the war. And I believe that they are quite sincere in thinking of themselves as being "a-political." But their's is certainly a political attitude that is really anti-democratic; it seeks to ignore politics by leaving politics up to the politicians, the parties and the newspapers.

This type of political "a-politicism" is, I believe, typically German and almost anarchist in its implications. It breeds that kind of political immaturity and irresponsibility so characteristic of German nationalism. It feeds on symbols and slogans—*Einigheit, Recht, Freiheit, Ordnung*, and so on—rather than on an assessment of men and issues. Feeling little responsibility for the actions of leaders or the formulation of policies, this "a-politicism" makes for a political life that is monolithic

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and bureaucratic. And then, in turn, you can hear Germans complain that they have no say or influence on their political leaders, and having no influence they claim not to be responsible for the leaders' behavior.

These are generalizations, of course, and there are many exceptions to the rule. But, ultimately, a people develops a political style of its own, a tone of debate and behavior which are clearly distinguishable, and looking at the German scene of today I am struck by how little change has occurred since the twenties. In fact, I am inclined to believe that the state of political discourse is worse today than it has ever been. It is as if even the Social Democrats had learned a lesson from the Nazis. Their politics is frankly opportunistic, and they are outdone in their appeal to German nationalistic bias only by the Communists who play the Nazis' game with a vengeance. If one were to substitute the word "Nazi" for "Communist" in the Communist press and propaganda, one might be reading a Nazi outpouring.

The contractual agreement between the Western powers and Bonn is only referred to as *Schandvertrag*—treaty of shame—the term with which Hitler for over a decade maligned the Treaty of Versailles. Chancellor Adenauer is accused of "selling out Germany's sovereignty," and of building up an army of German "mercenaries" who will do America's bidding. And, like the Nazis, the Communists are preparing to enter on a campaign of street terror. The Essen riot, I'm sure, was only the opening stage of a well-planned campaign of political terrorism. "The time has come," a Communist paper just announced, "to *enter* the streets and fight for one's rights. Whoever hesitates any longer takes the risk of having to *flee* into the street in order not to be exterminated in the detonation of bombs . . ."

Of course, in this atmosphere of nationalist hoodlumism the gradual re-emergence of the extreme Right is only a matter of time. The re-adoption of *Deutschland Uber Alles* as the national anthem, on the eve of the initialing of the European Defense Pact, is not only symptomatic of the force of tradition, but a concession to the Right. And as the reality of the lost war recedes into the past, Neo-Fascism has an easy time of it. Already the new Deutsche Reichspartei needs no longer disguise its composition or intentions. "We do not distinguish between war criminals and non-criminals," its campaign posters told voters in the recent communal elections in Hessen, "We know only Germans." The return of Nazis to responsible positions of trust, especially in state and local governments, is not only acquiesced in but accepted as a matter of public policy. Cooperation of the anti-Hitler opposition during the war with the Allies is widely denounced as *Volksverrat*, treason on the German people.

German politics is so difficult to understand precisely because it is grounded not on democratic experience but on a deep emotionalism that parades in an "a-political" garb and is political nevertheless. In fact, it easily turns into a politicalization of public life that is unknown in the Western democracies. It is as if Germans, when they enter the political arena, were becoming political vultures. Something like the good-humored abuse of political leaders that one hears in London's Hyde Park is simply unthinkable in Germany. Political discourse is distinguished by the use of vituperative and contemptual epithets and attacks *ad hominem* which make democratic discussion most unlikely. There is a bullying quality in German political behavior, and it is by no means restricted to the totalitarians of Right or Left. Even the unions, presumably the backbone of German democracy, have threatened to counter various industrial laws that are likely to be passed by the Bundestag majority with strategic political strikes, and the militancy of their tactics is hardly reassuring.

Perhaps the most promising internal political development is the emergence of an "almost two-party system." The Adenauer Government, though based on coalition, has proved surprisingly stable, largely because it has in the Christian-Democratic Union a solid core with which to operate. If the CDU succeeds in steering Western Germany through the many problems, foreign and domestic, facing the country in the next few years, it should be able to maintain its electoral strength and prevent the splintering of the Center and Center-Right which characterized political life during the Weimar Republic. On the other hand, the Social Democrats, as the major opposition party, must learn to think of themselves as a "loyal opposition" rather than as a class or special-interest party. Until now it has failed to do so, except for its concessions to German national sentiments. And if the Social Democrats are really intent upon winning power, they must broaden their electoral base, give up even more of their Marxist dogmatism and travel the road of the British Labour Party. Whether they are capable of this remains to be seen.

Ultimately, of course, the future of German politics depends on the future of Western-Soviet relations. But these relations, in turn, are closely tied up with political developments in Germany. It is quite clear to all of those Germans with whom I talked that there will be no second Korea in the heart of Europe—that any attempt to solve the problem of German unity by means of violence can only lead to general war.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

MORE MARGINALIA

by Malcolm Cowley

HERE ARE more entries from a critic's notebook, transcribed without apologies for their briefness and diversity. The first of them deals with the tragic and the pathetic:

"There is a general height of the forest," I wrote, "which individual trees must reach but not surpass in order to have a long life. If they rise above the general height they are in danger of being uprooted by the wind or blasted by lightning. If they fail to reach it they die for want of sunlight.

"The tall tree blasted by lightning is tragedy (*Oedipus, Macbeth*). The tree that dies for want of sunlight is pathetic; it is also the central character of novels like *McTeague*, *An American Tragedy*, *Studs Lonigan*, *Knock at Any Door*—and of naturalistic fiction in general. Dos Passos' *U.S.A.* is a whole undergrowth of stunted trees."

The Two Traditions—In the five volumes of *Makers and Finders*, Van Wyck Brooks is describing and re-creating the partly forgotten tradition of American literature. At the end of the last volume he tries to define the tradition on the basis of his own observations. It is based, he says, on faith in the natural goodness of men and in their capacity to govern themselves; it is "the tradition of the Revolution, of Jefferson, Paine and Crèvecoeur and the roundhead side in the English civil war." If writers can be divided into those who believe in human perfectibility (the radicals) and those who believe in original sin (the conservatives), it is the first group—Brooks tells us—that is peculiarly American.

There is evidence to support this judgment, perhaps even a preponderance of evidence. At certain periods early and late—including the days of the Jacksonian revolution and the New Deal—almost all the serious writers were on the radical side. Yet there was another side as well, with evidence in its favor that cannot be overlooked if any final verdict is to be rendered. And why, after all, should there be a final verdict? Why should the word "American" be applied to one group of writers and not applied to another group born on the same soil and writing the same dialect of the same language? This is a big enough country to have produced at least two great traditions in literature. Let us set two columns of names side by side, with Brooks' favorites on the left:

Benjamin Franklin	Jonathan Edwards
Jefferson	Hamilton
Emerson	Hawthorne
Thoreau	Poe
Whitman	Melville
William James	Henry James
Mark Twain	Ambrose Bierce
Wm. Dean Howells	Henry Adams
Frank Norris	Stephen Crane
Theodore Dreiser	Edith Wharton
Sherwood Anderson	T. S. Eliot
Thomas Wolfe	William Faulkner
The "social realists" of the 1930s	The "magic realists" of the 1950s

"The left is the side of the heart," Brooks likes to repeat. On the left we find authors with a desire to "do something" for the community of men; on the right are those who suspect that nothing can be done. On the left, generally speaking, are the optimists; on the right, the pessimists. On the left are those with social interests; on the right, those with psychological interests. On the left are the authors interested primarily in *expressing* themselves or a social situation; on the right are those interested in *constructing* works of art and in making formal experiments (note that the radicals in literature are often political conservatives). The "left" authors put their stamp on most of the nineteenth century and on the periods from 1900 to 1920 and 1930 to 1940. The "right" authors were characteristic of the decades 1890-1900 and 1920-30. They are increasingly dominant in the 1950s, but who can speak for day after tomorrow?

Moreover, there are many American authors who don't fit into the pattern. Irving, Cooper, Hemingway, Steinbeck—to mention only four names—are so much a mixture of elements that one hesitates to assign them to either column. Hawthorne and Melville are "right" authors who started as radicals; Howells became a radical in his forties and then was frightened back into a middle position, while his friend Mark Twain was becoming an embittered skeptic. I cannot feel that either group is "peculiarly" American or uniquely gifted with literary talent. Unfashionable as such a compromise now seems to be, I can't help admiring Emerson *and* Hawthorne, Whitman *and* Melville, Sherwood Anderson *and* T. S. Eliot.

The Sensitive Young Man—The hero of a tragic novel written in 1952 is likely to be a sensitive young man of artistic promise ruined by his possessive mother; there are dozens of such novels submitted to publishers every week. The hero of a tragic novel written in 1922 was likely to be a sensitive young man of artistic promise ruined by the heartless and commercial society in which he lived. Both types of novels are essentially as weak as their heroes, but I think the 1922 type was a little better; at least the authors knew and admitted that there was such a thing as society.

Strange to think that young novelists should take to repeating in chorus, "Evil is in the human heart"—thus implying that it exists nowhere else—just at the moment it is most evident that the evil in society, encouraged by many personally good men, is likely to destroy us all.

The Literary Life—Sometimes it is like the boys' game of buckeyes. Two authors bump their heads together, or their reputations, till at last one of them cracks. The victor moves on to crack another reputation, or be cracked in turn. Finally someone is left as King Buckeye—probably someone who stayed out of the game until the last moment.

All critics start with a feeling about

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books—and life—but the good ones also have a sort of humbleness in the face of reality and keep adjusting their statement of the original feeling until it seems to correspond with reality. In that sense, criticism is the art of making qualifications.

I know a gifted short-story writer who wanted also to be a novelist. He rented a house on Cape Cod and spent a blustery winter there, finishing the novel that was already half-written.

> After a while the groceries ran short, [he told me] "and I cut a chunk out of the novel and sold it as a short story. Then I cut another chunk. All winter that novel was like a frozen side of beef hanging in the woodshed; whenever I got hungry I sawed off a steak. When spring came there wasn't any novel, nothing but soup bones.

River to Cross—Sooner or later most translators of French poetry offer their own versions of Rimbaud's long poem, "The Drunken Boat." That provides a convenient test for the critics and editorial readers of translations, once they have learned the happy gimmick. The first line of "The Drunken Boat" reads, in the original, *Comme je descendais des Fleuves impassibles*: "As I" — the boat is speaking—"was descending impassive rivers." Nine times out of ten the translator falls into a trap and makes the rivers "impassable." The reader has merely to glance at the line and say, "This man is careless about his French."

There is, however, a new translator, Alan Conder, who comes through the test with flying adjectives. I glanced at the first line of his "Drunken Boat" and found the nearly perfect reading: "Descending from the great impassive floods." The last word might seem a trifle bold for "rivers," but a *fleuve* is a large river flowing into the ocean—nothing much smaller than the Potomac would qualify—and "great impassive floods" has exactly the right sound. The rest of the poem is done with equal discretion. Conder's book is *A Treasury of French Poetry* (Harpers; $3.50) and I recommend it both for the choice of authors from five centuries of French literature and for its faithfulness to the spirit of the original.

PEDDLERS OF HATE

THE TROUBLEMAKERS, by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein (Doubleday; $3.50).

THE TROUBLEMAKERS to whom this title refers are the professional peddlers of racial, religious and politico-economic hatred in the US, who propagandize intensively against Jews, Negroes, Catholics and those they accuse, often unjustly, of being Communists. The authors are with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish fraternal order, Epstein as national director and Forster as general counsel and director of the Civil Rights Division; this volume is more or less an official report.

The chief news the book contains is that the crackpots are on the march again, the Cold War having produced an atmosphere of anxiety and distrust excellent for their purposes. Though they have been exposed over and over in recent decades, the salesmen of hate learn nothing and forget nothing. They continue to peddle such spurious documents as the Protocols of Zion, Benjamin Franklin's "attack on the Jews," and the Knights of Columbus oath. Most of them work together in all matters except dividing up the money they get from gullible fat-cats. While each usually has his special object of attack, other victims are dragged in as incidental targets. They even try in certain cases, and apparently with some success, to turn one minority against another, peddling anti-Catholic propaganda among the Jews and vice versa. American anti-Semites work with the Arabs (a story heavily documented in this book) apparently without any interest in whether the Arabs have a good case, merely because they are in conflict, in Southwest Asia, with the Jews.

Russia, of course, is primarily to blame for the present recrudescence of the crackpots, having frightened the American people into varying degrees of hysteria by her unremitting and unlimited expansionism in recent years. The American Communists are also responsible; by acting, in every sense, as though they were spies in an enemy country in wartime, they have helped to make many of the lies of the hate-mongers seem plausible. Forster and Epstein report in detail how the Communists have muddied the waters by entering genuine civil-liberty cases, not to help the victim but to exploit him for propaganda and money-raising purposes; the authors discuss such typical examples as Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, and the Scottsboro Boys. In the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted of stealing atom-bomb information, the Communists tried to create sympathy for the defendants by charging that they were the victims of anti-Semitism, although the trial judge and federal prosecutor are both Jewish.

Although many people are inclined to laugh at the efforts of the crackpots, on the ground that only the lunatic fringe of the population is gullible enough to swallow their nonsense, Forster and Epstein point out some real successes they have had. They appear to have won a political campaign in Knox County, Tenn., where Knoxville is situated. They may have been decisive in defeating Dr. Frank Graham for the US Senate. Anti-Catholicism was used against Joseph Ferguson, the Democratic candidate, in the Ohio senatorial campaign in 1950; Senator Taft, the victor, repudiated the maneuver. In Missouri, the Christian Nationalist Party of Gerald L. K. Smith got on the ballot in 1950, forced radio stations to give it "equal facilities" and deluged the state with concentrated bigotry. Sen. Elbert Thomas of Utah was defeated in the same year with the use of hate-monger tactics, and a number of other parallel cases are mentioned. (Professional bigots are fighting Eisenhower today on the ground that he is "a Swedish Jew," because of a clumsy attempt at humor in the annual class book when Eisenhower was a student at West Point.)

The present atmosphere is so tense that charges which could have been laughed off a few years ago are today a serious matter. Epstein and Forster tell in detail the story of the smear against Anna M. Rosenberg, who had just been nominated as Assistant Secretary of Defense. The hate-mongers promptly charged that she was a Communist, who

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had once been a member of a John Reed Club in New York City. Mrs. Rosenberg denied it, denied she had ever met the man who said he had been a fellow member, and pointed out that there are dozens of Anna Rosenbergs in New York City. Though she has powerful friends who vouched for her, and a record of many years of honorable public service, the merciless attack on her went on until the FBI managed to locate the other Anna Rosenberg, the one with whom her accusers had confused Anna M.—or pretended they had. The authors of this book say that the attempt to destroy the Assistant Secretary of Defense was "almost successful." They add:

> It is frightening because though in the end Mrs. Rosenberg herself was completely cleared, the fact is that the smear had achieved a status never before attained in this country. Never had those seeking to damn an individual through irresponsible charges, innuendo, and guilt by association been able to win so respectful a hearing.

It is clear from the evidence that some of the people most active in the smear were using the trumped-up charge of Communism merely as an excuse to attack Mrs. Rosenberg as a Jew. They were linked with important figures in the House and Senate.

The authors of *The Troublemakers* have been indefatigable in research, and their book is admirably indexed. Every contemporary professional bigot I ever heard of is in the list, and a few who are new to me. This is a valuable volume to have handy on your desk when you are reading the daily newspaper. And it is an important one. As the authors say:

> It is during this difficult time that the troublemakers become a major menace. For it is they—the breeders of hate and the midwives of hysteria—who create friction and disharmony among us; who encourage suspicion of our fellow citizens; who set group against group within the nation. It is they who play the game of our enemies, sabotaging our unity from within and feeding those abroad who make use of every failure of democracy to attempt to divide us from the free world which is our ally.

BRUCE BLIVEN

AS THE MODERN HERESY

TITOISM AND THE COMINFORM, by Adam B. Ulam (Harvard University Press; $4).

HERESY IS an essential ingredient in the Soviet psychology of power, for an authoritarian political faith, like an authoritarian religious faith, requires the dynamism of heretical opposition in order continually to revivify the sacredness of dogma. One suspects that the Soviets would have to invent heresy if it did not arise in the nature of things. Trotskyism was a heresy which the Stalinists kept alive for their own purposes long after its exponents in the Soviet Union had been extirpated. Titoism is the latest Communist heresy, and it has been skillfully exploited by the Kremlin in order to consolidate its power over the satellite countries.

Mr. Adam B. Ulam has told the story of the rise of Titoism in Yugoslavia and the manner in which it has been manipulated by the Soviet leaders in the East European countries with admirable scholarly objectivity. He has carefully differentiated speculation and factual evidence in making expert use of recently published material drawn from the resolutions of the CPY up to 1937 and from Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, and Polish newspapers and periodicals.

Up to the time of the formation of the Cominform in September 1947, Mr. Ulam perhaps attributes too much design to Soviet policy toward the satellite countries. Russian sources indicate considerable indecision and much sheer improvisation on the part of the Kremlin leaders in the early stages. Though there is still a good deal of mystery behind the reasons for the establishment of the Cominform, its creation clearly marked the crystallization of Soviet policy toward the satellites. The Cominform may have been intended as an answer to the Marshall Plan, but one of its primary purposes was surely to effect a better integration of the economies of the satellites with that of the Soviet Union and to intensify the Kremlin's political control over these governments.

In this new policy at any rate the cardinal error of the Soviets soon became manifest to the surprise of both the Communist and the free world. Perhaps the major contribution of Mr. Ulam's book is the careful analysis he provides of all the factors leading up to the Stalin-Tito break. In the more than thirty years of Soviet foreign policy many errors have been made but hardly one as grave and consequential as this failure to understand the difference between the Party and its leaders in Yugoslavia and those in the other satellites. There were no more devoted Communists than those in Yugoslavia or more faithful allies of the Kremlin. But these men had fought with incredible bravery for the survival of their country and their Party, and they were determined to maintain their political independence. In 1947-48 they recognized, despite all the recriminations and false charges, that the only point at issue with the Soviet Union was: Who was to control Yugoslavia? Tito gave his answer and became the chief Communist heresiarch.

The Soviets have not underestimated the danger of this new heresy to their authoritarian power structure, but on the other hand they have made the most cynical use of Titoism to eliminate every vestige of opposition in the other satellites. Mr. Ulam has traced in some detail the downfall of the "Titoist" threats—Gomulka of Poland, Rajk of Hungary, and Kostov of Bulgaria. The removal of these vigorous leaders assured the complete obedience of East European Communism to the Soviet-controlled Cominform.

Mr. Ulam, it seems, has drawn a very logical conclusion from his study:

> . . . Titoism . . . is a grave and recurrent but not fatal disease of Communism. The conditions which assured its success in Yugoslavia are not automatically reproducible in every country that has come under Communist domination. Tito's Yugoslavia is a source of actual and psychological danger for Soviet imperialism. Morally, despite the origin of their revolt and the character of their rule, the rulers of Yugoslavia deserve the credit which accrues to any group of people who prefer danger and isolation to foreign subjugation. Those are the grounds upon which the West should determine its attitude toward Tito. ERNEST T. SIMMONS

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VIEWS BY SEVERAL HANDS

EISENHOWER: THE MAN AND THE SYMBOL, by John Gunther (Harper and Brothers; $2.50).

GENERAL IKE, by Alden Hatch (Henry Holt; $3.).

WHAT EISENHOWER THINKS, edited by Allan Taylor (Crowell; $2.75).

WILL HIS ADMIRERS discover in Mr. Eisenhower, Presidential candidate, the simplicity of Lincoln or the ignorance of Grant? The eloquence of Wilson or the feeble cliches of John W. Bricker? These are the unspoken questions these three authors have to contend with. The answers are frequently disconcerting.

Hatch's *General Ike* was written four years ago and has been enlarged to bring it up to date. As a full-scale biography, it is an uncritical but thoroughly capable journalistic performance.

Taylor's book is a selection of speeches prefaced with a brief profile. These excerpts are grouped in rather bewildering fashion into chapters and strung together with tendentious comments. Often the same speech is cut up into several pieces and each piece quoted under a different heading. There is no index. The book would be considerably more useful if the editor had been content to print the important speeches in full and in order of delivery and supported the book with a good cross-index. As it is, it is impossible to follow the logical development of Eisenhower's ideas throughout any single address or trace any progression from year to year.

John Gunther's book is the shortest (149 pages) and in many ways the most revealing of the three. Essentially, his book is an honest appraisal of a job applicant by a veteran personnel man. Gunther, who has interviewed most of the world's great and near-great for twenty years, makes a size-up of Eisenhower as an applicant for the Presidency and is consistently warm, friendly, and sympathetic.

The best Gunther can say of Eisenhower at the book's end is "No matter what happens he is a first-rate American proud of America, and America has every right to be proud of him." This is commendable, but I rather doubt *if it is what Gunther set out to prove.*

Eisenhower emerges from these books as a better-than-average representative of the military man, American style. Only his unusual personal warmth and his longer experience distinguish him from countless younger men who make up a familiar Pentagon type. He has the neat good looks, alert manner, compact body; the boyish eagerness, the enthusiasm for sports, girls, occasional drinking with the boys; and most important, the competently trained technician's mind, impatient of politics and "theories" alike, which works off any excess intellectual energies by reading Western pulps and playing bridge (both Eisenhower and Gruenther are ardent bridge players). It is a type which takes unblinking physical courage and good nerves for granted.

To delineate these qualities is not to disparage them. Eisenhower and the many others like him in the armed forces have served this country well in the past and they can be counted on to do so again in the future.

What such an analysis does provoke is the question: are these the requisite qualities for a President of the United States.

The only significance, for example, that Gunther can get out of Ike's personality is the utterly meaningless formulation with which he closes Chapter One: "That he is a down-to-earth American is his most typical characteristic as well as his most important strength. What he believes in primarily is the *good of the United States.*"

Gunther rightly says that Eisenhower is an inspiration and a symbol. This status, however, is a product of his personal magnetism and his military prowess and not of any unusual intellectual or political capacity. He has never said anything remotely comparable to the speeches of Roosevelt, Churchill, or Wilson. In June, 1945, he did make the so-called "famous Guild Hall speech." Joseph Alsop has incomprehensibly called this the greatest address of the post war years, and it is reprinted in full in the appendix. As a matter of fact, the Guild Hall address is a pleasant, banal little talk such as might be given by any returning hero or American ambassador *to a luncheon meeting.* Grover Whalen has heard several better ones at City Hall in his career.

All three authors gloss over Eisenhower's disastrous failure as president of Columbia University. In that post, Eisenhower never came to grips with actual educational problems, was inaccessible to the faculty, refused to listen to advice, surrounded himself with untutored military aides, hated the routine of speechmaking, gladhanding, and money raising, and fled back to military life with delight. This experience is important. It was his only civilian job and the Presidency of the US is more similar to the presidency of Columbia than it is to being Chief of Staff.

The effort to find something in Eisenhower's record which would qualify him for the White House drives Gunther close to desperation. He winds up with this roster of cliches: "To sum up, the General would be orderly, decent, and honorable in the White House. He wants unity and strength. He is wholesome; he has great ability to listen; he would take good advice. He has a fine inspirational quality. He would be economical, and he believes in peace."

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

A YOUNG NOVELIST—1796

THE MONK, by M. G. Lewis, with an introduction by John Berryman (Grove Press; $4.75).

THE GOTHIC novel was a very minor, and certainly never a highbrow genre. Even in its own time, it stood in respect to more serious literature much as the detective story or science fiction do today. Yet, like the poetry of Blake, Burns, Wordsworth and Coleridge, it too participated in the late eighteenth century's reaction against the image of man as a dominantly rational creature who lives by daylight and consciousness alone. Its original strategy, according to Horace Walpole, was to juxtapose the medieval and the unknown with the everyday and the logical. But by the time Lewis wrote *The Monk*, which really set its pattern, the emphasis had shifted from haunted apparatus to the character of the hero, and we now

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have not merely a story about ghosts and crumbling castles, but about a man whose deepest compulsion is to be possessed and governed by the daemonic half of him.

At thirty, the monk Ambrosio is the most famous and holy Capuchin in Spain. He has explored all the disciplines of the conscious will, yet he is restless, and after a succubus invests him with supernatural powers, he obsessively plunges into an orgy of irrational behavior which finally destroys him. Nothing could be farther from the rational ideal of dying with all of one's faculties gravely acquiescent than Ambrosio's end: he is literally seized by the devil's talons and hurtled screaming from a mountain crag.

It is unlikely that Lewis had any deliberate notion of what he was doing. He wrote the book before he was twenty, and for himself as well as for his thousands of readers, it was an unconscious, wishful-thinking image of the unreasonable excesses for which their too commonsensically bound lives yearned. It had a fantastic vogue among lending library subscribers, and was imitated for half a century. Its current reissue, hospitably introduced by John Berryman, ought to attract more than merely English students. For although it is not a novel to be compared, as Mr. Berryman thinks, with *Wuthering Heights* or *Anna Karenina*, it does remain, like the best of Wilkie Collins, not only of deeply symptomatic interest in the history of literary taste, but freshly, and quite thrillingly readable for its own sake.

ROBERT PHELPS

CANDOR WITH INDIFFERENCE

THE WORLD OF GEORGE JEAN NATHAN, ed. by Charles Angoff (Knopf; $5).

GEORGE JEAN NATHAN doesn't give a damn for the rest of us. With a disarming frankness, he admits his selfishness and his total engrossment in his personal pleasure. Whether he is contemplating life or art, he is governed by the subjective aestheticism that was modish in the 1920's. Most of his stock opinions are equally typical of the period when he and H. L. Mencken shocked the bourgeoisie every month in the *American Mercury*). Thus, he is impatient at the intrusion of any moral issue into the judgement of art —or of life. He has only disdain for most of his fellow-Americans, especially those who live in rural areas, but he has high praise for the few who maintain an "articulate metropolitan and world-balanced note," the world's elite, a. iong whom he numbers himself. He is convinced that all women are, or ought to be, playthings, that intellectual women are either pitiful or vicious, and that marriage is a trap. Without any qualifications, he despises politics and politicians; this attitude is, in particular, a legitimate offspring of the Harding-Coolidge era. He has an especial aversion to reform and reformers; so thoroughly has he persuaded himself that any kind of social reform is undesirable that he was able to write, in the dark year of 1931: "The world, as I see it, is sufficiently gay, beautiful, and happy as it stands." A year later, he referred to Dreiser's membership on "committees protesting the lynching of Negro Lotharios." At least, Mr. Nathan's cynicism deserves credit on the score of honesty. His colleagues on the New York *Journal-American* claim lofty reasons for supporting callous doctrines.

The real oddity of Mr. Nathan's case is that, granted all his quirks, he is still one of the very few drama critics who are worth reading. Although Charles Angoff's new sampling of Mr. Nathan's writings insufficiently represents the drama criticism, there is enough to remind us what this critic excels at—the diagnosis of various kinds of badness in the theatre. The author, like his readers, obviously gets the most fun out of his unfavorable reviews. Mr. Nathan exhibits considerable critical sense even when he is discussing plays that he likes, but here his remarks sometimes become perfunctory; he evidently lives by his belief that no favorable review can have anything very new in it. What is most curious in his criticism is his marked preference for authors whose social views are the opposite of his own. First among contemporary dramatists he ranks the arch-reformer Shaw, and his favorites among the Americans are the sympathetic, sometimes sentimental, O'Neill and Saroyan. Such preferences testify to Mr. Nathan's critical independence; when he is in the theatre he is free even of many of his private crotchets. This independence is often disparaged on the grounds that his interest in the theatre, unlike Shaw's, is isolated from all of society, from the great world outside.

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THE LAST YEARS OF NIJINSKY, by Romola Nijinsky (Simon and Schuster; $3.50).

This sequel to the almost tragic *Nijinsky* is only touching and plaintive. At best it deals in pathos. The earlier volume overflowed with the materials of Nijinsky's personality and art. Here Mme. Nijinsky offers an elusively passive and autumnal symbol of that great figure. She tells us that Vaslav read, painted, talked, but unfortunately not what he read, painted, talked. The Nijinsky who emerged from catatonic schizophrenia through the near miracle of insulin treatment never again became the Nijinsky the world wanted, and historical events blasted all hopes for his recovery. Two "if only" themes dominate Mme. Nijinsky's thought. If only she had known never to trust him to clinics, asylums, unsympathetic people; if only human decency were still controlled by the world of high society she once knew. Instead, the Nijinsky's suffered the life of refugees, always a little better off financially than others, always encountering the influential person at the last moment, but in constant danger because they had the wrong papers, and because, for the Nazis, the taint of insanity ranked next to the taint of the Jew. Mme. Nijinsky makes a brave effort to show that Nijinsky was sufficiently recovered to plan an international ballet institute before he died, but the sad fact is that the Nijinsky who survived became a part of herself. The real Nijinsky had disappeared into the geometric profundities of his own universe in the terrible year of 1919.

THEODORE HOFFMAN

THE CHINESE THEATRE by Jack Chen (Roy Publishers; $2.50).

It is a kind of paradox in modern Western theatre that the influence of classical Oriental stage forms has been strictly limited to two dialectically opposed groups of people: the religiously inclined like Claudel and Copeau and Yeats, and the Marxist materialists like Brecht. Thus it is not really surprising to find that Mr. Chen, whose sympathies are clearly with the New China, writes even better about the Classical Chinese theatre than he does about the new Westernized style (middle-class and propagandist) or the genuinely revolutionary product, the Yangko style (an emergence from primitive folk-art). Except for the exuberant, expectant political bias (it was writen in 1948), this short elementary study does a remarkable job by avoiding aethetics and criticism and concentrating on lucid descriptions of what actually takes place and how it all looks. The text, which is not always factually reliable (*The Inspector General* is ascribed to Ostrovsky), is supported by a number of well-chosen illustrations. WILLIAM BECKER

GRAHAM'S JOURNEY

by Eric Bentley

I

I TAKE IT that Martha Graham's new work is a version of that lofty and pellucid *Cantico delle creature* in which Saint Francis thanked the *bon Signore* for the sun, the moon, the stars, wind and water and fire. It cannot be said that Miss Graham brings us the feeling of all this with the directness of the saint. There are interferences, and there are lacunae. Of the former, the chief is the music. In the piano reduction, which with some rather haphazard percussion was all we heard of Thomas Ribbink's score for wind quartet and voice, it is alive only to the extent that it is irritating. Chiefly an interference also is Frederick Kiesler's space set. Apt as it may be for other purposes, its abstractness, its streamlined curves and varnished finish, are as far as anything could be from the Franciscan sweetness and joy. Further interference was supplied by Jean Rosenthal. She interfered with our vision by saving electricity.

As for lacunae, the chief is Miss Graham herself. She does not dance in this work, and her absence doesn't merely mean one good performer the less, it means a difference in the very conception and form. When Graham is present she is central not just choreographically but dramatically, humanly. Her dancers seem not so much colleagues as pupils, not so much partners as handmaidens. When she is not on stage and they cannot be *her* handmaidens, unused to prominence or unfit for it they have perforce to be handmaidens of her idea. And, in the new piece, her idea is not always strong enough to sustain them.

That portion of Martha Graham which can be detached from her own person is not the most effective. Hostile observers say she can impress her personality on others by way of destroying what is individual in them but not by way of lending them her own style. One can readily believe you have to be strong to survive. In the *Canticle* several dancers are strong enough to take a good deal from Graham and yet retain their own identity. Though somewhat heavy in body and spirit for the sprightly praise of fire, Stuart Hodes certainly prevents Graham having a monopoly of masculine force; nor does Robert Cohan allow his ballet-dancer brilliance to be subdued by Grahamite solemnity. Bertram Ross was able to make his own the audacious Grahamism of an acrobatic dance on a curved, steeply inclined plane.

The diagnostic of the dancer Martha Graham is that she is an actress. Her pupils also succeed as actors or not at all. Actors, not in employing all of an actor's technique, but in ability to take stage, to project personality and drama. Pearl Lang, for instance, has a face for acting: enough beauty (i.e. not too much) and eyes that speak. Mary Hinkson has an actress's presence. She is a center of vitality and thus of attention. She radiates and hence fills a much larger piece of stage-space than her body occupies.

In this field, the best actress is the best dancer. I don't mean that Miss Yuriko's praise for our sister the moon is closer to pantomime than the work of her colleagues. It is not the degree, but the maturity, of her acting that makes the difference. She has a style that seems effortless—because it is mastered. She can project and take stage so easily, she needs no special propulsion. She can do without dazzle. She can use Graham's audacity—she is breathtaking when she lies on a horizontal bar some five feet high and looks love at Mr. Ross—but the greater wonder is that she can incorporate the

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Graham staccato within the legato of her own rhythm.

I neglected to say that the piece is called *Canticle for Innocent Comedians.* One should add Miss Graham's titles and program notes to the list of interferences. This particular title symbolizes the enterprise in general—half Saint Francis and half Ben Belitt. I intend no slur on Mr. Belitt's poetry in complaining about the phrase "innocent comedians" in a new context where "guilty tragedians" would be just as fitting. Even in reference to Miss Graham my criticism is not accusatory. We live today in the filth of a general decadence and—even among those who by character and genius rise above the morass, transcendant, shining—there is no one to whom some slime does not stick. The Canticle shines and is transcendant only by fits and starts—in the degree of each performer's individual talent. For a sustained transcendance, a shine with a steady gleam varied with controlled chiaroscuro, we must go to the works in which Miss Graham herself appears. The outstanding recent one is *The Triumph of Saint Joan.*

First we see the *fleur de lys* brilliantly painted as high as the stage by Frederick Kiesler. Then, to triumphal trumpetings, Miss Graham walks across the stage. Very slowly, pausing at every step. No variation, no gestures. It is a walk of dedication, of sanctity. Next we see Joan as a peasant girl in a blue dress, carrying a red scarf, when, towards noon, an angelic voice first speaks to her in her father's garden. The voice seems to lift the stooping figure of the girl. Rising, she turns, and her arm rises too, towards the voice and heaven. Her mouth opens in wonder. Then the spirit takes hold of her, and she makes gestures of combat. This thrilling moment prepares us for Miss Graham's third sequence: the Field.

To one less expert in dancing than drama, the most striking feature of modern dance is its occasional theatric audacity. Audacity, anyway, is a quality we should treasure as dearly as Danton did. It is the *sine qua non.* Jose Limon has it intermittently in his *Bullfighter* and his *Malinche.* Merce Cunningham has a moment of it when he adds to a war-dance a series of mad cries. Erick Hawkins almost has it in *Goat of the God* which he dances with wooden hooves under his toes. But the big audacious moment of this and many a season's dancing was for me the moment when Miss Graham burst onto the stage carrying a great thick lance over six feet long. She does three or four different things with it, and each new procedure comes with a magnificent shock. She seizes it by both hands and lunges. She swings it round in an arc before her. She rests it on her hip and advances with a springy, martial step. Characteristically, Miss Graham is not above ending with an adroit bit of stage business: she suddenly plants her spear in the ground, thus converting it into a standard, and is lucky enough to find a hole in the stage for the purpose.

In the fourth and last sequence, she presents Joan's death. No scenery, no flames, but she is dressed in red. And now something is achieved by way of drama which we of the dramatic stage could never attempt. The contrast between the burning without and the calm within is concentrated in the person of a single performer. As dancer Graham renders the fire with her body. As actress she renders the inner peace with her face. And here again, at the close, she calls stage-craft, or acting-craft, to her aid. To express Joan's death, she lies back on a bier, but then finds herself lying on a silver cloth. Fastening the cloth about her neck while still reclining, she rises and, lo, a saint in silver walks toward eternity and the footlights.

The form of the symphony-with-dance is apt to give us exaltation in too thick a slab, and so is the Dello Joio music for *Joan* in particular. Symphonic music is fatal to another recent Graham piece, *Judith*; the dancer seems washed off-stage in a sea of boring sound. In *Saint Joan*, I'd say her audacity sees her through. And, after Shaw's *Joan*, there is audacity in the very notion of by-passing our modern irony and attempting the unmixed sublime. Even Claudel and Honegger have not done so in their Catholic version of the story.

(This is Part I of an essay in three parts.)

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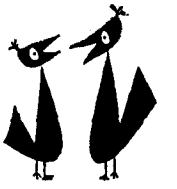

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